

KCM 64732

a fair account
of the Dadi
Isibongo of
Mphahane,
Mandla Bayiso
+ Nodembisi

V.C. NGIDI

16/5/51

ack
21/5/51

Isizwe : Ama Qadi

Isibongo : Ngcobo.

‘We of the White Men’s Country’: The Remaking of the Qadi Chieftdom, 1830s to 1910

Heather Hughes and Mwelela Cele

After more than two decades of close scrutiny of its ‘life’, the archive emerges as nothing if not paradoxical.¹ The necessary starting point of a great deal of historical work, it reveals as well as conceals its treasures.² It claims authority, yet is patchy in coverage. It presents itself as a record of guaranteed permanence, yet may be subject to disintegration and disappearance: in a virtual age, ‘the archive is everywhere and hence nowhere’.³ In short, the archive is a social construction, subject to political caprice.⁴ The focus has thus shifted from ‘archive-as-source to archive-as-subject’,⁵ yet it is worth noting that historians have long been mindful of the issues at stake. There were strong intimations of the ‘archival turn’ in the 1960s and even before that (to cite but one practitioner) Marc Bloch discussed in some detail the chance ‘revolutionary confiscations’ of papers that have often benefited scholars, as well as the ‘forgetfulness and ignorance’ that have been a necessary part of modern states’ assembling and controlling of archives.⁶

It is also clear that archive stories are as much about users’ engagement with the extant record as about those who have been responsible for curating it; as much about retrieval and use as about collection and storage.⁷ This can range from researchers’ experiences in repository reading rooms – that sense of helplessness at not being permitted access to the vaults where documents are held and thus having to rely on finding aids that may or may not be accurate – to the ways in which we read those documents delivered to our desks ‘along the grain’, in Ann Laura Stoler’s evocative phrase,⁸ or against it, for the answers they can reveal to our questions.

Figure 1. Title page of Victoria Ngidi’s hand-written entry to the Zulu Tribal Competition of 1950. MS File 22, doc KCM 64732. Campbell Collections of the University of KwaZulu-Natal

1 C. Hamilton, ‘Backstory, Biography and the Life of the James Stuart Archive’, *History in Africa* 38(1), 2011: 319–41.

2 An earlier version of this essay was published as H. Hughes and M. Cele, ‘Regionalism and the Archival Record: The Case of the Qadi in the Colony of Natal’, *International Journal of Regional and Local History* 8(2), 2013: 79–93.

3 A. Burton, ‘Introduction: Archive Fever, Archive Stories’ in *Archive Stories: Facts, Fictions and the Writing of History*, edited by A. Burton, Durham: Duke University Press, 2005, p. 5.

4 A.G. Tough, ‘Archives in Sub-Saharan Africa Half a Century after Independence’, *Archival Science* 9, 2009: 188.

5 A.L. Stoler, ‘Colonial Archives and the Arts of Governance: On the Content in the Form’ in *Refiguring the Archive*, edited by C. Hamilton, V. Harris, M. Pickover, G. Reid, R. Saleh and J. Taylor, Dordrecht: Springer-Science+Business Media, 2002, p. 86.

6 M. Bloch, *The Historian’s Craft*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1992, pp. 61–2; C. Steedman, *Dust (Encounters)*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001, p. 2.

7 Burton, ‘Introduction’, p. 8; Steedman, *Dust*, p. ix.

8 A.L. Stoler, *Along the Archival Grain: Epistemic Anxieties and Colonial Common Sense*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009.

Mindful of such considerations, this essay focuses on the nineteenth-century colonial Natal archive and asks what it can reveal of the ways in which African subjects actively attempted to participate in shaping the ‘on-the-ground workings of colonialism’.⁹ We approach this task through a case study of one chiefdom, the Qadi. Benita Parry’s point that ‘the native was sometimes an informant, always a topic, but rarely . . . an interlocutor recognised as an agent of knowledge’ reflects the subordination of indigenous people and their knowledge to colonial control and knowledge systems, in a process that is evident across the archival record.¹⁰ Keakopa similarly observes that record-keepers generally looked down upon African societies and cultures, which deeply affected the way that they assembled their records.¹¹ Yet such views are incomplete. There were those, such as the Qadi leadership, who were alive to the possibilities of protecting the integrity of the chiefdom as a viable political and social entity. While in pursuit of such interests, they also contributed quite consciously to the making of the colonial record, even though simultaneously aware of their own subjugation and loss of agency. Not only did they engage extensively with magistrates, missionaries and leading settlers; members of the polity also used Qadi oral narratives very effectively in promoting particular causes. Indeed, the nature of their participation in the creation of the colonial record is connected to our knowledge about this chiefdom in the times before the coming of imperial rule: by establishing a respected position within the colonial order and later into the twentieth century, they *became* an important source in the making of oral narratives about an earlier past.

Who were ‘the Qadi’? As the editors and other contributors to this volume have indicated, the matter of terminology is a troubling one because all choices seem to come with suspect ideological baggage. It will be clear from the account below that we are following Jeff Guy: the Qadi were one of many chiefdoms

not made up of homogenous descent groups, but of groupings from different descent groups, associated perhaps with a particular area and dominated by a particular lineage, and with power vested in a particular representative – the *inkosi* to whom the group as a whole gave political allegiance through which they secured access to productive land.¹²

Recognition of the *inkosi* (chief), then, was a key marker of being Qadi. The use of the term ‘chiefdom’, like ‘kingdom’, indicates the flux and fluidity inherent in any such political formation. Attachment to a chief implied the potential for changing allegiances – hence the porousness that many writers have emphasised since the 1980s, as opposed

9 C. Harris, ‘How Did Colonialism Dispossess? Comments from an Edge of Empire’, *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 94(1), 2004: 166.

10 B. Parry, *Postcolonial Studies: A Materialist Critique*, London: Routledge, 2004, p. 8.

11 Cited in A.G. Tough, ‘Oral Culture, Written Records and Understanding the Twentieth-Century Colonial Archive: The Significance of Understanding from Within’, *Archival Science* 12(3), 2012: 246.

12 J. Guy, *Theophilus Shepstone and the Forging of Natal*, Pietermaritzburg: University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, 2013, p. 316.

to the fixity of kin groups or ethnic identity that was so much a feature of earlier twentieth-century historical and anthropological writing.¹³

However, we also use the term 'tribe' to indicate another process at work, how chiefdoms were remade under colonial conditions. Thus, it became usual practice for colonial officials to establish membership of a tribe according to which chief a person, commonly an adult male, recognised. A variation on this theme was the expression of 'paying under' a chief for the purposes of the annual hut tax. (How adult women would have defined themselves is less certain, often having grown up under one chief and living under another after marriage.) Both terms, 'chiefdom' and 'tribe', are used here for the colonial period, precisely to indicate the contests waged variously between chiefs, their followers and colonial officials over the composition of the polity and rights and responsibilities within it. As the Qadi case reveals, through the nearly 70 years of colonial rule, it became increasingly difficult for followers to exercise options, as control over movement and allegiance were ever more tightly policed, yet the Qadi leadership never gave up its attempts to maximise opportunities for members of the chiefdom. In other words, the very notion of what it meant to belong to a chief was subject to elaboration and refinement through the period, as the relationship between chiefs and followers was irreversibly altered from outside, not least concerning chiefs' ability to secure access to productive land.

* * *

While the official record of colonial Natal reveals a preoccupation with imposing colonial authority and extracting revenue, it is also possible to gain the impression that the governance and control of the indigenous population was a matter of relatively minor concern to the new colonial overlords. An estimate of the number of documents listed in *Webb's Guide to the Official Records of the Colony of Natal* suggests that the volumes dedicated to African administration constitute a very modest proportion of the total.¹⁴ Of course, the Department of Native Affairs record was not a self-contained field – other departments often concerned themselves with African governance – and one should not equate quantity with historical value. Yet, this does to some extent reflect the reality that the settler state was always intent on governing Africans as cheaply as possible.¹⁵ In 1846, Theophilus Shepstone was appointed Diplomatic Agent to the Native Tribes and his 'little office' took responsibility for a great many functions, principally keeping peace, collecting taxes, regulating movement of Africans and standardising a justice system.¹⁶

13 J. Wright, 'Reflections on the Politics of Being "Zulu"' in *Zulu Identities: Being Zulu, Past and Present*, edited by B. Carton, J. Laband and J. Sithole, Pietermaritzburg: University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, 2008, p. 35.

14 J. Verbeek, M. Nathanson and E. Peel (eds and comps), *Webb's Guide to the Official Records of the Colony of Natal*, Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 1984.

15 J. Lambert, *Betrayed Trust: Africans and the State in Colonial Natal*, Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 1995, p. 271; Guy, *Theophilus Shepstone*, p. 65.

16 N. Etherington, 'The "Shepstone System" in the Colony of Natal and Beyond the Borders' in *Natal and Zululand from Earliest Times to 1910: A New History*, edited by A. Duminy and B. Guest, Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press and Shuter and Shooter, 1989, p. 170.

This office became the Department of Native Affairs in 1856; until the mid-1890s, it was exempt from the control of the colony's legislature, which gave Shepstone as its presiding secretary a considerable degree of latitude and a separate, though small, budget. Officials continued to be correspondingly tiny in number: by the time of his retirement in 1877, there were still only eleven magistrates in the colony, who had the title Administrator of Native Law to indicate their specific duties towards Africans. There was a notable change in arrangements through the 1880s, as conditions in the African locations, largely stemming from land hunger, necessitated closer control. In turn, this led to a greater increase in the personnel deployed and the amount of reporting they undertook.

This point is reflected in the main, day-to-day records of the Department, the Secretary for Native Affairs series. There are 480 volumes of minute papers, as well as parallel series of confidential and other special minutes, for the period 1848–1910; the 1890s and 1900s alone account for 358 volumes of the main series. The early volumes, though particularly scant, reveal three main preoccupations: subjugating those borderland areas still deemed not to be wholly under control, such as 'Faku's country' to the south, Weenen to the interior and the Thukela Valley to the north-west; searching for suitable cash crops to make the colony economically viable and elaborating categories of knowledge into which the subjugated were expected to fit.¹⁷ As Nicholas B. Dirks reminds us, 'cultural forms in societies newly classified as "traditional" were reconstructed and transformed by and through this knowledge, which created new categories and oppositions between coloniser and colonised'.¹⁸ Thus, as Guy has traced in detail in his book *Theophilus Shepstone*, Shepstone spent much time identifying chiefs and headmen and devising hierarchies of chiefs, based on oral histories of migration and settlement, then designating tribes and detached portions of these and pinning them in particular tracts of designated locations where he could, since barely half of the African population were actually living in them.¹⁹

In terms of this emerging framework, the Qadi were defined as a tribe possessing the enviable status of indigenous inhabitants, having been settled in the area before British colonial rule was extended over the Thukela-Mzimkhulu region. Had they arrived later, they might have been classified as refugees, whose position was always more tenuous, both in the eyes of officialdom and of settled polities.²⁰ Indeed, in the 1850s and 1860s, the Qadi chief, Mqhawe, often ordered out refugees who had attached themselves to his chieftdom when requisitions for *isibhalo* (labour tax system) came around.²¹

17 See, in particular, Pietermaritzburg Archives Repository (NAB), Secretary for Native Affairs (SNA), 1/1/6–1/1/11.

18 N.B. Dirks, 'Foreword' in *Colonialism and its Forms of Knowledge: The British in India*, by B. Cohn, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996, p. ix.

19 Guy, *Theophilus Shepstone*, pp. 97–147.

20 K. Atkins, *The Moon is Dead! Give us Our Money! The Cultural Origins of an African Work Ethic, Natal, South Africa, 1843–1900*, Portsmouth: Heinemann, 1993, pp. 50–1.

21 H. Hughes, 'Politics and Society in Inanda, Natal: The Qadi under Chief Mqhawe, c.1840–1906', PhD diss., University of London, 1996, p. 129.

Yet even if not refugees in this official sense, the Qadi were comparatively recent arrivals. According to various oral histories, they had come into being as a subordinate lineage within the large Ngcobo paramountcy long before Zulu expansion, in the middle reaches of the Thukela Valley. Several chiefdoms are said to have grown around lineages issuing from Dingila, the heir to the founding Chief Ngcobo. Dingila's *indlunkulu*, or great wife, gave rise to the senior Nyuswa lineage; the *iqadi*, her understudy or support, to the subordinate Qadi lineage and the *isizinda*, guardian of the homestead's ancestral grounds, to the smaller Ngongoma lineage.²²

These narratives suggest that chiefdoms came into being by a steady process of segmentation. Read allegorically, however, it is possible that the Ngcobo group of chiefdoms originated in the opposite manner, by means of amalgamation. John Wright has suggested that this political process – not of houses growing apart, but rather various independent chiefdoms forming alliances – occurred for reasons such as defence against common threats and a more efficient allocation of resources.²³ Chiefly genealogies were among the devices employed by chiefs to affirm or assert blood ties to the dominant lineages, in order to establish a legitimate place within a particular polity. Whether through fragmentation or coagulation, the Nyuswa rulers assumed control over the Ngcobo paramountcy, which in turn consisted of an assortment of subject chiefdoms living in close proximity, the Qadi inhabiting a wooded area called Eziqalabeni at the confluence of the Nsuze and the Thukela rivers.²⁴

Up to the late eighteenth century, the degree of control exercised in large polities such as the Ngcobo seems to have been limited. But from the early years of the nineteenth century, they were sucked into the upheavals associated with the rise of a distinctive form of highly centralised, coercive state power in south-eastern Africa, which reached its apogee under Shaka. In a relatively short period, the Zulu leader subordinated a vast number of chiefdoms to his authority and created a powerful state structure centred between the Phongolo and Thukela. The mid-Thukela paramountcies reacted in different ways to this development: while some succumbed without much opposition, the Ngcobo disintegrated, with the Nyuswa strenuously resisting and some at least of its client groupings submitting.²⁵ As Jantshi kaNongila told James Stuart, the Qadi 'did not flee but paid taxes' to Shaka.²⁶

22 M. Fuze, *The Black People and Whence They Came*, translated by H.C. Lugg and edited by A.T. Cope, Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 1979, pp. 67–8; A.T. Bryant, *Olden Times in Zululand and Natal*, London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1929, pp. 480–3, 494; C. de B. Webb and J. Wright (eds), *The James Stuart Archive of Recorded Oral Evidence Relating to the History of the Zulu and Neighbouring Peoples*, Volume 2, Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 1979, pp. 47–52, testimony of Madikane Cele; Hughes, 'Politics and Society', pp. 53–6.

23 J. Wright, 'The Dynamics of Power and Conflict in the Thukela-Mzimkhulu Region in the Late 18th and Early 19th Centuries: A Critical Reconstruction', PhD diss., University of the Witwatersrand, 1989, pp. 24–5, 34–6.

24 M.V. Gumede, 'Umlando Wenkosi Yesizwe samaQadi, Inkosi uMqhawe Ngcobo – Uqekethwa ngu Deputy Chief Mbeki Ngcobo Nenduna Ubusani Khokhe Ngcobo', pamphlet, c.1977, p. 57.

25 C. Hamilton, 'Ideology, Oral Traditions and the Struggle for Power in the Early Zulu Kingdom', MA thesis, University of the Witwatersrand, 1985, p. 476.

26 C. de B. Webb and J. Wright (eds), *The James Stuart Archive of Recorded Oral Evidence Relating to the History of the Zulu and Neighbouring Peoples*, Volume 1, Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 1976, p. 183, testimony of Jantshi kaNongila.

1.

Imvelo yawo

Isizwe samaBadi sadabuka
eGqalabeni, kwaZulu, ezikhathini kusabusa
inkosi, uShaka.

Ukuzalana kwamaKhosi amaBadi
Lesisizwe, inkosi yaso, kwakunguDube
kaSilwane kaNjila kaBebe kaNyani
kaNgotoma.
uDube lona ungowakwaNgcobo ngesibongo.

Imilando yesizwe.

uDube wayenamaNxele amabili
ayenamandla futhi eyizingwazi impela,
kungu: - 1. uMaphephesi, wakwaNgidi
2. uMbinyana, wakwaSoba
Kwakuyekuthi uma ihlasele, njengoba
izwe la kwaZulu lalibuswa ngezikhali,
uphondo lwempi kaDube lube namandla

Figure 2. First and second page of Victoria Ngidi's handwritten entry to the Zulu Tribal Competition of 1950. MS File 22 doc. KCM 64734. Campbell Collections of the University of KwaZulu-Natal

ngenza yalamadoda amabili.
Ayenamahawu awo amhlophe, okuhlalana
uma isihlasele. Samadoda ayengabanumzane
nje.

uZulu phela wayebusa ngezikhali.
Inkosi ushaka, yayifuma ukuwathenga
lamanaele, abuyele ngakuyena, akaze
akuvuma loko uDube.

Swathi ukuba ushaka abone ukuthi
akekho ndawo, impi kaDube, usedlela
ogageni, wamema uDube ngelinye ilanga
ukuthi akebaphumele obala
egqumeni bayibukele impi idumelana.

Ekusoseni kwabo, wathi uDube, ngoba
phela wayezilala etekela, "Ngitawukwedela
Wosi, utawubona," Loku ekushiso
yingoba wayezigabisa, egabaza
ngamanele akhe amabili.

Isidumelene, amathe abuyela
kasifuba, wase ushaka ethembisa uDube
ukuthi, akasoze afa, uyoluthola ubisi

The Ngadi Tribe

by

Translator: E.R. Dahle

Victoria C. NgidiTheir Origin

The Ngadi tribe originated at Agalabeni in Zululand at the time of the rule of Shaka.

Genealogy of Ngadi Chiefs

This tribe's chief was Dube. The son of Silwane of Njila of Bebe of Njani of Ngotoma.

This Dube has the Ngobo surname.

Tribal History

Dube had two left-handers (amanake) who were very strong and expert wielders of the assegai. They were

1. Maphaphesi Ngidi
2. Mbiyane Goba

When the army had attacked, as the Zulu nation was ruled by the assegai, Dube's wing of the army was very powerful because of these two men. They had their white shields for stabbing if they were attacked (okuhlabana uma isihlasele). These men were merely knalheads.

The Zulus, by the way ruled with weapons. King Shaka wanted to pay these left-handers to come over

Figure 3. First and second page of the translation by E.R. Dahle into English of Victoria Ngidi's entry to the Zulu Tribal Competition of 1950. MS File 22, doc KCM 64733. Campbell Collections of the University of KwaZulu-Natal

to him, but Dube did not agree to that.

When Shaka realized that Dube's army was nowhere (akekho ndawo impi ka Dube), he meditated (usedlala ogagani) and invited Dube to come out on the hillock in open to watch the armies charging each other. During their discussion, Dube said (because he was a lala and used t's for s's etc.): "I will turn against you, lord, you will see (Ngitawukwedela wosi utawubona)". What made him say this was the fact that he was being very confident and boasting of his left-handers.

When they had clashed, "the spittle returned to the chest" (he was disappointed) and Shaka promised Dube that he would not die on any account, but he would "get the milk" (would endure for ever, even if he grew old he would survive).

What made Shaka say this was because he was tired of seeing the "fruiting of pumpkins below the blossoms" (the rolling about of the corpses of young Zulu men dying).

Dingane, who was Shaka's brother, did not like Shaka's promise (to Dube) and remained spiteful throughout.

This was one of the things that made Dingane hate Shaka

UMLANDO WA MAGADI
Unikezwa u MADIKANE ka MLOM'UNETHOLE ka BOBO -
ka NDLUUSA ka MPINDA
MASHIYAMAHLE

FUZE
↓
LUDIWO
↓
BAMULA
↓
BUYISWAYO
↓
NGCOBO
↓
DINGILA
↓
NGOTOMA
↓
NJILA
↓
BEBE
↓
SILWANE
↓
DUBE
↓
DABEKA
↓
MQHAWWE
↓
MANDLAKATISE
↓
NDODEMBI
↓
MZONJANI

Figure 4. Dr M.V. Gumede's sketch of the Qadi chiefly genealogy as produced for H. Hughes, October 1983



Figure 5. Photographic collage of (from left) Rev. James Dube, Chief Mqhawe and Madikane Cele. Album C57 -132. Campbell Collections of the University of KwaZulu-Natal

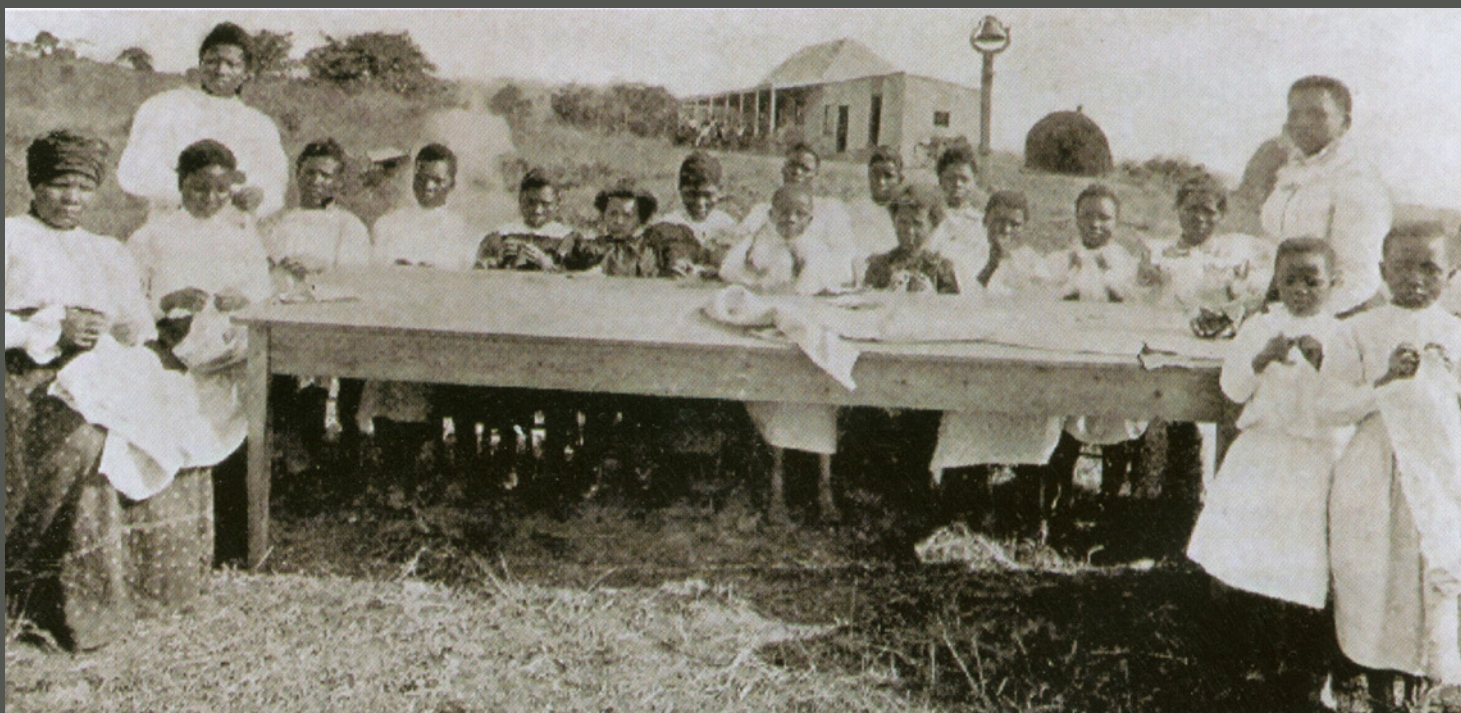


Figure 6. 'One of Nokutela Dube's early needlework classes at Ohlange.' H. Hughes, *First President: A life of John Dube, founding president of the ANC*. Auckland Park: Jacana Media, 2011 (no page number)



Figure 7. Crocheted handcraft that is typical of material generally excluded from ethnographic collections. The image was most likely taken at the Inanda Agricultural Show, held 1925–35. A. Wood, *Shine Where You Are*. Alice, Lovedale Press, 1969, p. ??



Figure 8. *Inanda Girls 1890s*. Seminary students wearing dresses they made themselves. Inanda Seminary Photographic Collection

MAA Photographic Collections

This information is the property of the University of Cambridge and may contain historical information that may now be considered politically incorrect.

idno	N.37159.ACH2	Album Ref.	
Associate d Ref.s	P.7334.ACH1 [Duplicate]	Other No.s	Africa.S.107-110. [see
Place	S Africa; South Africa; KwaZulu-Natal; Mt. Edgecombe [Natal]		
Group	Zulu		
Named Person			
Photo-grapher	Haddon, Alfred Cort		
Coll.or Expedn	Haddon, Alfred Cort [B.A.A.S. Meeting 1905, Cape Town]		
Collection Name	Unmounted Haddon Collection		
Date	23 August 1905		
Format	Film Negative		

Description

On Catalogue Card: Dance, Mt. Edgecombe A.C.H. 1905.

Inscription

Label on wooden box marked C114/: "AFRICA. AFR.1 - AFR.S.116"
[manuscript in ink]

On envelope numbered C114/112/: "Africa.S.107-110" [first manuscript in green ink]
"S. Africa. Mt Edgecombe. Dance (4 photos). A.C.H. 1905"
[second manuscript in black ink]

On negative: "Durban" [manuscript in black ink]



Notes

The negative was previously stored in an envelope now numbered C114/112/ which was in a wooden box now marked C114/. The envelope (C114/112/) is re-housed in Neg. Env. Box 5. which is stored in Storage Box A in the Photo Archive room.

Figure 9. Screen shot of page for File P.7334.ACH from the digital photographic catalogue of Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Cambridge. Entry contains information regarding the 'Dance at Mount Edgecombe' organised for the 1905 visiting delegation of the British Association for the Advancement of Science. Provided by the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Cambridge, 3 May 2016

They did not survive intact through the reign of Shaka's successor, though. In 1837, Dingane mounted a ferocious attack against the Qadi, in which many, including Chief Dube, were killed. This incident was the occasion for the first appearance of the Qadi in the documentary record;²⁷ it bore strong resemblance to the fate of Piet Retief's party a year later. This second attack has been extensively recreated and represented in both text and image,²⁸ while that on the Qadi is all but absent from the archival record. Survivors fled south across the Thukela and most regrouped near Port Natal. The men were drafted into the local militia. Their services defending the settlement over the following years – during which Dube's heir, Dabeka, was killed – were rewarded in cattle, most of them seized in one incident.²⁹ Mawa, a senior female Zulu royal, whom Mpande regarded as a threat, crossed into Natal in June 1843 with thousands of followers and cattle – a herd large enough to 'cover the site of Pieter Maritzburg'.³⁰ She was stopped at the Mdhloti River by a military force from Port Natal, undoubtedly including Qadi men, where the cattle were confiscated.

With their share of the booty, the Qadi moved inland up the Mgeni Valley and settled along the Mzinyathi tributary, beyond abandoned Boer farms at Inanda, displacing the smaller Pepeta chiefdom in the process.³¹ To all intents and purposes, therefore, the Qadi were newcomers to Natal, even though on the right side of the 1842 dateline to count as indigenous. They were, moreover, prepared to accommodate themselves to the new rulers of Natal if this gave them an opportunity to rebuild their polity. All this is conveyed in the observation made by Madikane Cele, one of the most remarkable members of the Qadi chiefly circle, that 'it is with those cattle that we established ourselves, we of the white men's country'.³²

Where do the details of Qadi narratives about their history come from? It is worth underlining that leading Qadi men, and sometimes male members of other related chiefdoms, supplied the original narratives for all the extant accounts. (There is but one known female account, discussed below.) Two collectors of history/tradition in particular stand out: Stuart and A.T. Bryant.³³ Stuart interviewed Madikane Cele at length on Qadi history (although we would never guess from his record that Cele was an ordained minister!) and Bryant acknowledged his debt to Magema Fuze, the son of a chief whose lineage had been a minor one, alongside the Qadi, in the old Ngcobo polity. Fuze's own history, *Abantu Abamnyama Lapa Bavela Ngakona (The Black People and Whence They*

27 'Letter from Original Settlers, Natal [without date, but evidently within three months of 19 April 1837], to the editor of the *Grahams Town Journal*', reproduced in J. Bird (ed.), *The Annals of Natal 1495 to 1845*, Volume 1, Cape Town: Struik, 1965, pp. 322–3.

28 See J. Grobler, 'The Retief Massacre of 6 February 1838 Revisited', *Historia* 56(2), 2011: 113–32 for a review of the evidence of this incident.

29 Fuze, *Black People*, pp. 76–7.

30 'Minute, 11 February 1846' in *Records of the Natal Executive Council, 1846–48*, Cape Town: South African Archives, 1960, p. 70.

31 Hughes, 'Politics and Society', p. 105.

32 Webb and Wright, *James Stuart Archive*, Volume 2, pp. 56–7, testimony of Madikane Cele.

33 In a monumentally important, but painstaking effort since 1976, Stuart's archive has been translated and edited for publication by Colin Webb (until his death in 1992) and John Wright in six volumes. Bryant published several works on Zulu society, but his *Olden Times* is the most important in terms of historical background.

Came), though published in 1922, had been penned in the first years of the twentieth century. It was the first major historical work ever written in isiZulu; he provided one of the earliest published accounts of the composition of the old Ngcobo polity.³⁴ It is only since the 1970s that Stuart's archive, assembled in manuscript form in the 1890s and early 1900s, has been accessible through publication. He did, however, produce a number of school readers in isiZulu that were long in service. Both Stuart's and Bryant's works have been subjected to important critical scholarship for the ways in which they collected and deployed their material.³⁵ Yet these sources have proved remarkably resilient as authoritative accounts and their contributions continue to shape popular views of tradition and history.

The only known female informant on pre-1840s Qadi history, Victoria Ngidi, submitted her narrative to Killie Campbell's Zulu Tribal History Competition of 1950 (Figures 1, 2 and 3). Though little is known about her, she was living at the Inanda Mission, which had been established by the American Zulu Mission in the 1840s in the Qadi heartland. Her account contains numerous variations not found elsewhere and reveals something of the power of historical narrative to exert influence on the present. Ngidi claims that Shaka had been particularly impressed by two left-handed Qadi soldiers, Maphephesi Ngidi and Mbiyana Goba. He wanted them under his immediate control, in return for which he promised that their Chief Dube 'would get the milk' – that is, would endure forever. Dingane later feared Shaka's promise, which is why he turned on the Qadi.³⁶

If we fast-forward from this incident to the Inanda Mission in the 1890s, we find that two of the most prominent Christian families living there were the Ngidis and the Gobas. Klaas Goba was styled a Christian chief in terms of colonial authorities' attempts to 'retribalise' converts as a means of deflecting their demands for private land and civic rights. He was thus very closely allied with white authority. Mbiyana Ngidi, by contrast, had been ordained in 1876 and placed at an American Zulu Mission outstation of the Inanda location called Newspaper. He subsequently led a section of the congregation out of the American Zulu Mission, in one of the earliest assertions of independence from the mainstream churches.³⁷ Mbiyana was also closely related to William and Jonathan Ngidi, Bishop Colenso's celebrated assistants. All three Ngidi family members were thus notable because of the way they 'experimented with a wide range of beliefs, combining in novel ways ideas drawn from different cultures and religious systems'.³⁸

34 Fuze, *Black People*, p. 16. See also H. Mokoena, *Magema Fuze: The Making of a Kholwa Intellectual*, Pietermaritzburg: University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, 2011, p. 96.

35 C. Hamilton, *Terrific Majesty: The Powers of Shaka Zulu and the Limits of Historical Invention*, Cape Town: David Philip, 1998; Hamilton, 'Backstory'; J. Cobbing, ' "A Tainted Well": The Objectives, Historical Fantasies and Working Methods of James Stuart, with Counter-Argument', *Journal of Natal and Zulu History* 11, 1988: 115–54; B. Carton, 'Fount of Deep Culture: Legacies of the James Stuart Archive in South African Historiography', *History in Africa* 30, 2003: 87–106; J. Wright, 'A.T. Bryant and the "Lala"', *Journal of Southern African Studies* 38(2), 2012: 355–68.

36 Killie Campbell Africana Library (KCAL), KCM 64732, File 22, Zulu Tribal History Competition 1950, Victoria Ngidi, 'Isizwe: AmaQadi'.

37 S. Marks, *Reluctant Rebellion: The 1906–1908 Disturbances in Natal*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970, pp. 62–3.

38 N. Etherington, 'Christianity and African Society in Nineteenth-Century Natal' in *Natal and Zululand from Earliest Times to 1910: A New History*, edited by A. Duminy and B. Guest, Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press and Shuter and Shooter, 1989,

Significantly, neither the Ngidi nor the Goba families had associated with the Qadi chief or his circle in the late colonial period in the way that, for example, the even more prominent Dube family had.³⁹ On the contrary, they represented local tendencies entailing a complete break with the chiefdom. This was the cause of a deep and persistent division among the African Christians at Inanda. It is not known whether Victoria was in any way related to Mbiyana, but it is tempting to think she was; in any event, the Ngidi name would have been clearly associated with a certain independent waywardness. In the atmosphere of the 1950s and the Nationalist government's promotion of apartheid-style tribalism on a grand scale, the author might have felt that her family's associations were in need of realignment, that the prowess and courage of earlier generations in the service of the great King Shaka in building a Zulu nation required emphasis.

Another recognised and prominent authority on Qadi history from the 1950s to the 1980s was Dr M.V. Gumede, member of yet another long-established Christian family in Inanda.⁴⁰ He consulted not only Fuze, Bryant and Stuart, but also the official Qadi *imbongi* (praise singer), Khekhe Ngcobo, in order to produce his history of the Qadi and its chiefly genealogy.⁴¹ Gumede claimed both in his writings and speeches in the 1970s and 1980s that Chief Dube had supplied men for Shaka's *amabutho* (regiments) and these were of some importance in the final defeat of his main foe, the Ndwandwe, in 1826. In Gumede's version of the tradition, Shaka and Dube even watched one of the battles together, on Mabengela Mountain.⁴² Wright notes that it was often required of subaltern chiefs that they accompany Shaka to battle.⁴³ The more significant aspect of Gumede's narrative, however, is its connection to the circumstances of its telling. Shaka and Dube were emblematic of two distinct sets of leaders and political positions in post-1976 political struggles: the 'traditionalists' grouped around the Zulu monarchy, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and his Inkatha party on the one side, and the 'progressives' in the United Democratic Front, closely associated with the Congress tradition on the other.⁴⁴

By bringing the two nineteenth-century figures together to oversee a key military victory, Gumede symbolised an alliance that he personally found very attractive at a time when political conflict between Inkatha and the United Democratic Front had become so tragically violent. He himself favoured a path of tolerance and negotiation; while he had at one time been minister of health in Buthelezi's KwaZulu government, he was no longer openly politically aligned by the mid-1980s. To reinforce the point, his version of Qadi chiefly genealogy (Figure 4) shows variations from all other recorded sources,

p. 293.

39 H. Hughes, 'Doubly Elite: Exploring the Life of John Langalibalele Dube', *Journal of Southern African Studies* 27(3), 2001: 445–58.

40 M. Cele, 'Eposini Elidlala: The Gumede Homestead, Power and Service in Segregationist and Apartheid South Africa', paper presented at the Biennial Conference of the South African Historical Society, University of KwaZulu-Natal, Durban, June 2011.

41 Notes on sources and history prepared by M.V. Gumede for Heather Hughes, October 1983.

42 Gumede, 'Umlando', p. 57.

43 Wright, 'Dynamics of Power', p. 235.

44 See Hamilton, *Terrific Majesty*, pp. 168–205 for a detailed account of the mobilisation of Shakan mythology in this period.

beginning with a link between the Qadi and the Zulu in the figure of Mashiyamahle, 'of the Zulu house'.⁴⁵

* * *

From the earliest years of colonial rule, Shepstone did his best to standardise the way that officials handled every decision concerning African subjects since he knew that chiefs contested any perceived discrepancies. He was also concerned to align tribal matters with magisterial boundaries. In reality, few chiefdoms were consolidated into single bodies, which meant that chiefly rule 'was often incompatible with government based on geographical units'.⁴⁶ This was a matter of great inconvenience to the Secretary for Native Affairs, whose office made frequent attempts at strategic moments (such as the death of a chief and/or a succession dispute) either to create discrete new tribes out of sections if they were large enough, or to join them to an existing local chief.

Chiefs saw this as an opportunity to appoint increasing numbers of functionaries to far-flung sections – although they had to have official permission to do so – whose elevated status enabled them to claim small government stipends and negotiate more cattle for their daughters. It is little wonder that colonial Natal became 'a land of *izinduna* [civil or military officials]', as Absolom Vilakazi called it.⁴⁷ Of course, there were dangers here: chiefly representatives might well be tempted to seek higher status for themselves. Yet this was not an inevitable consequence and there was often resistance to official designs to create new tribes.

In the case of the Qadi, not all of those fleeing southwards had found their way to Port Natal; there were smaller groups scattered elsewhere, who refused to 'turn their doors' – that is, to owe allegiance to whoever was the local chief.⁴⁸ By the time of Mqhawe's death in 1906, the Qadi, with 3 086 huts, was among the largest chiefdoms in Natal.⁴⁹ It was distributed across six different magisterial divisions and held together by an extensive network of functionaries, often close family members of Mqhawe's.⁵⁰ The Secretary for Native Affairs moved swiftly to split it up; this was also a tense period in the wake of the Bhambatha Rebellion of 1906. Furthermore, officials were disapproving of the designated heir, Mandlakayise. He had spent an extended period in the United States and, probably uniquely in colonial Africa, had become an American citizen.⁵¹ The local Ndwedwe

45 Hughes, 'Politics and Society', p. 58; M.V. Gumede, 'Umlando wa MaQadi', c.1982, manuscript in possession of H. Hughes.

46 Etherington, 'Shepstone System', p. 178.

47 A. Vilakazi, 'A Reserve from Within', *African Studies* 16, 1956: 94.

48 A. Vilakazi, *Zulu Transformations: A Study of the Dynamics of Social Change*, Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 1962, p. 10.

49 NAB, SNA 1/1/302-7613/1903.

50 NAB, SNA 1/1/223-930/1896.

51 H. Hughes, *First President: A Life of John L. Dube, Founding President of the ANC*, Johannesburg: Jacana Media, 2011, pp. 83–4.

magistrate described him disparagingly as 'the most reserved and unapproachable Native of any social position whom I have met'.⁵²

Attempts were made to place those Qadi in Camperdown, Maphumulo and Inanda magisterial divisions under a nearby chief. The *induna* at Inanda thought this highly improper and refused to co-operate. The Qadi in Camperdown elected to remove themselves to the main body of the chiefdom in Ndwedwe, rather than be placed under the Ximba chief, Mdepa. The section in Maphumulo was more or less forced under Situlumana as this chief's reward for his loyalty during the rebellion. And in Impendhle, the Qadi *induna* Magogwana successfully resisted the attempt to foist a chiefship on him. Mandlakayise, of course, also mounted a vigorous protest against this attempt to reduce the chiefdom; in all instances but one, he and the Qadi succeeded.⁵³ At play, in short, was a dynamic set of interactions, pointing to a 'constant struggle rather than . . . a single and coherent strategy' in the exercise of colonial power.⁵⁴ The certainty of the bounded tribe was both colonial assumption and aspiration, but not *fait accompli*.

Shepstonism was possible because, as most scholars point out, this was not a colony of conquest. Governance could therefore be conducted with a relatively high degree of consent, through existing chiefly authority. There were inevitably adaptations, but what chiefs were still permitted, or left to do, satisfied the needs of both the administration and the chiefs themselves, at least during Shepstone's tenure. Yet the corollary to consent was extreme violence towards those who withheld their co-operation: Fodo, Sidoyi, Matshana and Langalibalele were all relentlessly destroyed.⁵⁵ Generally, however, chiefs welcomed Shepstone's style of rule: he encouraged them to pay their respects at his office and went through the motions of consulting them over intended new arrangements. Guy has forcefully argued that Shepstone held out to chiefs the promise of secure access to land and for this they were prepared to accord him obedience.⁵⁶ As Mqhawe put it: 'In the olden times [Shepstone] would take his chair under a tree, and then after being heard, a decision in the case was given, and it was finished.'⁵⁷

The Qadi position was strengthened early on by official recognition of Mqhawe as a hereditary ruler; his ancestry could be traced back through Qadi oral histories for several generations. Officialdom even fashioned different classes of hereditary chief, according to such criteria as to how succession had occurred and how many sections of the tribe there were in Natal: as the Secretary for Native Affairs informed magistrates: 'Should you be at a loss at any time to determine the rank of any native who may be in charge of

52 NAB, SNA 1/1/310-1904, 'Note to SNA, 30 April 1904'.

53 Hughes, 'Politics and Society', pp. 286–8.

54 P. Pels, 'The Anthropology of Colonialism: Culture, History and the Emergence of Western Governmentality', *Annual Review of Anthropology* 26, 1996: 173.

55 T. McClendon, 'You are What You Eat Up: Deposing Chiefs in Early Colonial Natal, 1857–1858', *Journal of African History* 47(2), 2006: 259–79; J. Wright and A. Manson, *The Hlubi Chiefdom in Zululand-Natal: A History*, Ladysmith: Ladysmith Historical Society, 1983.

56 Guy, *Theophilus Shepstone*, p. 518.

57 Evidence of Mqhawe, *Colony of Natal: Evidence Taken Before the Natal Native Commission, 1881* (Pietermaritzburg: 1882), p. 221.

a tribe, section of tribe, or body of men . . . status can easily be ascertained by a reference to this office.⁵⁸ Hereditary chiefs lent the system legitimacy and were accorded greater seniority than appointed ones, whose initially small numbers increased considerably through the years of colonial rule.⁵⁹ For example, there was a limit to the number of cattle that appointed chiefs could demand for their daughters, but no cap for hereditary chiefs.⁶⁰ From the 1860s, all chiefs received annual stipends; hereditary chiefs were entitled to more than appointed ones. Mqhawe's was £30, the maximum possible, plus an additional £10 annually from 1879 for his role in the Natal Native Contingent during the Anglo-Zulu War.⁶¹ In asking for an increase in 1886, he made it clear that he was aware of the stipendiary scale for chiefs throughout the colony and declared he was 'of higher standing' than certain others on his notch.⁶²

Mqhawe's incumbency (c.1849–1906) was almost coterminous with the colonial period itself, which probably gave the chieftdom a rare sense of stability. His long rule conferred on him the additional status of an expert on customary law, the hybrid form that emerged from the exercise of chiefly authority in colonial conditions and most thoroughly explored by Martin Chanock.⁶³ Ruling through chiefs meant that chiefly courts, where all civil and some criminal cases were heard, were busy places: Mqhawe, for example, 'never lost an opportunity of imposing fines on members of his tribe', observed one magistrate.⁶⁴ This system of law had an inbuilt bias in favour of chiefly decisions. Plaintiffs could not bypass the chief by taking their cases to the local magistrate and if they wished to take a matter there on appeal, there was a hefty fee of five shillings, increased to £1.00 after 1859.⁶⁵ Yet there was little likelihood of an altered outcome: 'My decision is always upheld by the magistrate,' Mqhawe frankly admitted in 1881.⁶⁶ Again, after 1875, all criminal cases were supposed to be heard before magistrates. However, chiefs who had been hearing them before that date, such as Mqhawe, were still doing so into the 1890s.⁶⁷ One implication of all this is that, functioning as they did on the basis of the spoken rather than the written word, deliberations of chiefly courts went almost completely unrecorded. The documentary record did not penetrate this indirect system, which also needs to be taken into account in any evaluation of the archive.

There was at least one paper document closely tied up with chiefly rule that those such as Mqhawe used to great effect to bolster his status. Importantly, tribes served as

58 NAB, SNA 1/1/30-306/1878.

59 D. Welsh, *The Roots of Segregation: Native Policy in Natal, 1845–1910*, Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 1971, p. 114.

60 Hughes, 'Politics and Society', pp. 98–9.

61 NAB, SNA 1/1/174-1086/93 and SNA1/1/35-872/1879.

62 NAB, Verulam Magistrate's Records (VMR), 1/VLM/3/2/4, 'Inanda Magistrate, 26 February 1886'.

63 M. Chanock, *Law, Custom and Social Order: The Colonial Experience in Malawi and Zambia*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985.

64 NAB, SNA 1/1/329-2844/1905, 'Ndwedwe Magistrate, 31 Oct 1905'.

65 NAB, SNA 1/1/9-172/1859, 'Resolutions of a Meeting of Magistrates 1859'.

66 Evidence of Mqhawe, *Natal Native Commission*, p. 223.

67 NAB, SNA 1/1/120; J. Lambert, 'Africans in Natal, 1880–1899: Continuity, Change and Crisis in a Rural Society', PhD diss., University of South Africa, 1986, p. 21.

the basic units for enumeration, a task that reflected the coercive and extractive aspects of colonial rule, collection of taxes and calculation of quotas of men for *isibhalo* and other duties. In order to give effect to such tasks as hut tax collection and before the first Christian converts were even able to read their Bibles, chiefs were each issued with their own hut tax receipt book. Only they possessed them, even if they could not decipher their contents, because they were responsible for their homestead heads' due payment of the seven-shilling tax, demanded annually after the harvest from 1850, which doubled in 1875.⁶⁸ Having one's own book became part of the distinction of chiefly status; by the same token, as already noted, it became common for followers to indicate their allegiance by declaring which chief they paid under. In this way, even an unpopular measure such as the hut tax insinuated itself into the definition of chiefs and tribes in a way that was intended to bolster a sense of order and control.⁶⁹ It is not known whether any of these books survive; magistrates were required to be present at hut tax payments and made their own reports for the Secretary for Native Affairs, most of which are extant.

For the most part, then, what is captured in the record is what colonial officialdom needed to know and do in order to fulfil what it perceived as its obligations of rule: maintaining social peace and collecting revenue. The ebb and flow of daily life might be noted in passing, but was not in itself of great interest until social distress caused by land hunger rose to a sufficiently high level to cause concern through the 1880s. Various indications are noted in magistrates' and other official reports: growing bad feeling between the Qadi in the location and on the reserve (see below for the distinction); an ominous gap opening between young and old and some Qadi even hiring lawyers to obtain redress in legal cases.⁷⁰ To assuage some of these difficulties, Mqhawe even tried to move the whole chiefdom back to Zululand at this time, but was repeatedly told that there was no room.⁷¹

The authorities were sufficiently aware of these rising tensions to appoint four location supervisors in 1889 to provide regular and detailed intelligence; however, the only one to stay in post any length of time was Thomas Fayle, supervisor of the Inanda location.⁷² His task was to attend all wedding ceremonies and other events where two or more chiefdoms gathered together, monitor garden disputes and otherwise watch for any possible signs of trouble. He travelled about with his ubiquitous notebook, noting what was grown, the condition of the cattle, how much tree-cutting was occurring, attitudes towards the payment of taxes and so on. Fayle's weekly reports for the Secretary for Native Affairs constitute a minutely detailed and largely untapped record of life in the Inanda location in the early 1890s. They also reveal that he was perceived as much a

68 NAB, SNA 1/1/72–344/1884.

69 NAB, SNA1/1/72–344/1884, 'Dispute between Matingwana and Mqhawe, July 1884'.

70 Hughes, 'Politics and Society', pp. 124–7.

71 NAB, SNA 1/1/120–1140/1889, 'Verulam Magistrate to Secretary for Native Affairs, 19 October 1889'.

72 NAB, SNA1/1/114–452/1889, 'Appointment of Supervisor, 29 August 1889' and list of duties.

source as a collector of information: his notes are full of references to being closely questioned by chiefs and chiefly functionaries.⁷³

One of the weddings that Fayle attended, in March 1891, represented a turning point in Mqhawe's relations with the colonial state. Fayle had noted bad feeling between the Qadi and the neighbouring Tshangase in the previous months, resulting from contested access to vegetable gardens. But he clearly underestimated its gravity, believing the ceremony would be unaffected. One of Mqhawe's nieces was due to marry an *induna* of the Tshangase. Mqhawe had continued to maintain a system of age regiments, of which there were five at this time;⁷⁴ the Qadi men arrived fully armed in regimental formation. The Tshangase men for their part had called on the Pepeta to join them. As the dancing began, the two sides came to blows, resulting in three deaths and several serious injuries. It was the most serious fight ever witnessed in the location. The wedding was called off in the panic and confusion that followed.⁷⁵ More than 300 men were arrested, half of them Qadi. The matter went to the Native High Court, one of the very few cases involving the Qadi ever to do so. Mqhawe's brother, Macekeni, was found to be the primary instigator of the fight and sentenced to eighteen months' hard labour in Durban gaol. All the other Qadi defendants were given the option of gaol terms or fines, while the Tshangase were all acquitted.⁷⁶ The Qadi were prepared for this outcome and immediately paid the hefty total of £2 190 owing in fines, surely an indication that the chiefdom was surviving remarkably well.⁷⁷

After this incident, Mqhawe refused to requisition men for *isibhalo*, thereby earning the admiration of Harriette Colenso;⁷⁸ he would not co-operate with the census; he delayed hearing cases and was frequently fined for minor breaches of the law, such as failure to produce dog tax receipts; he was thought to be harbouring 'treasonable designs' against the government from the late 1890s and contemplated joining forces with Bhambatha in 1906.⁷⁹ Yet his disposition to seek opportunities in the 'disjuncture between prescription and practice' was not readily translatable into sustained defiance.⁸⁰

That he did *not* join Bhambatha also speaks of another set of relations that Mqhawe had cultivated through his reign, which is largely to be found in another and rather different archival record, not about governance and control, but about conversion and civilisation. It so happened that in 1856, Emaqadini, the heartland of the Qadi chiefdom, was demarcated as the Inanda Mission Reserve.⁸¹ This was a tract of some 11 500 acres

73 Hughes, 'Politics and Society', p. 115. Fayle's reports are filed in various volumes from PAR, SNA I/1/112–175/1889 to SNA I/1/166–157/1893.

74 Evidence of Mqhawe, *Natal Native Commission*, p. 230.

75 NAB, SNA I/1/139–314/1891, 'Fayle's Diary, 14 March 1891'.

76 NAB, Natal Native High Court Records, Native High Court, Verulam Session, II/7/14, 'Riots and Homicides 1891'.

77 *Natal Almanac and Yearly Register 1892*, p. 137.

78 Evidence of Harriette Colenso, *Minutes of Evidence to the South African Native Affairs Commission 1903–1905*, Volume 3, Cape Town: 1905, p. 418.

79 Marks, *Reluctant Rebellion*, p. 75; Hughes, *First President*, pp. 124–5.

80 Stoler, *Along the Archival Grain*, p. 39.

81 PAR, American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions Papers (ABC), File 1883, A/2/22, 'Deed of Grant'.

attached to the American Zulu Mission's Inanda station as a sort of large parish, in which the missionaries could build schools and churches and win converts. Mqhawe's main homestead, as well as those of large numbers of his followers, therefore came to be situated on mission lands. The reserve was also adjacent to the Inanda location, on which a smaller number of Qadi had their homesteads.

When the American missionaries Daniel and Lucy Lindley had begun work in the Mzinyathi Valley in the late 1840s, they were met with resolute hostility from the newly installed Mqhawe.⁸² Relations worsened when Mayembe, a widow of the late Chief Dube, fled to the Lindleys to avoid an *ukungena* marriage, a practice whereby widows were taken into the care of male relatives. Her action precipitated the foundation of the Inanda Church in 1849. She took the Christian name Dalida; her young son Ukaonina became James. Yet a decade later, there had been a marked improvement in relations between missionaries and chieftdom; the main reason was probably Mqhawe's realisation that being on the reserve might provide a form of protection. Although the Qadi still had to pay hut tax and were liable for *isibhalo*, they were exempt from the reserve rent, which newcomers were charged, and could rely on the missionaries' role as gatekeepers to secure their access to land. In addition, because they were the only chieftdom in residence, there was a reduced risk of boundary and other disputes.

Finally, they had partial access to the only decent road serving African areas of the Inanda district, which linked the railhead at Duff's Road to the mission and continued some way beyond into the Mzinyathi Valley in the reserve, though here it was usually in a state of disrepair.⁸³ It did mean, however, that those within its proximity could move produce to the Durban market and Mqhawe himself was able to begin a transport-riding business with Lindley's assistance.⁸⁴ These were prospects denied the very vast majority of Africans living in locations, where 'roads were virtually non-existent before the 1890s'.⁸⁵ All this meant that well into the 1880s, the Qadi could generally meet hut tax and other obligations from the sale of cereal surpluses, despite emerging competition from Indian agriculturalists, and young men could generally remain at their fathers' homesteads, instead of having to sell labour power (except it was the young whom Mqhawe tended to call out for *isibhalo*). In most years, the Qadi were prompt in their payment and appeared to do so 'cheerfully', though they often also asked when the government was going to give them respite.⁸⁶

Perceiving access to land to be the most important factor in maintaining his legitimacy from below, Mqhawe was also able to make use of his missionary contacts to buy land. In 1875, with substantial assistance from Bishop Colenso (to whom he had probably been introduced by Lindley) and funds collected from a tribal levy, he purchased a 9 000-acre

82 NAB, ABC, File 1849, A/2/27, 'Lindley to Adams, 28 January 1849'.

83 NAB, SNA I/I/115-574/1889, 'Report of Inanda Magistrate 30 May 1889'.

84 NAB, SNA 1/1/113-1002/1889, 'Report of Road Inspector to Colonial Engineer, 4 June 1889'; E. Smith, *The Life and Times of Daniel Lindley*, London: Epworth Press, 1949, pp. 381-2.

85 Lambert, *Betrayed Trust*, p. 11.

86 NAB, SNA 1/1/121-1382/1889, 'Faile's Diary, 14 December 1889'.

farm near Pietermaritzburg, which he named Incwadi – ‘the letter’ or ‘the book’.⁸⁷ In terms of the deed of transfer, Incwadi was ceded to the chief and his descendants on behalf of the Qadi people; all the sections were represented on the board of management.⁸⁸ The farm helped to ease pressure considerably in other Qadi areas, particularly in the Inanda location.

Although he never became a Christian himself, Mqhawe was very well connected among the converts living on the mission station. James Dube prospered in business as well as church affairs. One of the earliest ordained African pastors of the American Zulu Mission, he was given charge of the Inanda Church in 1873. He also rejoined the Qadi chiefly circle and sat on the board of management of Incwadi. It was a pattern that James’s son, John Langalibalele, would continue on reaching adulthood in the 1890s; indeed, John’s first real experience of mission work was at Incwadi, where he had been dispatched by the old chief. Mqhawe’s support for the convert faction that had coalesced around the Dubes even became an influential factor in the outcome of such momentous mission station decisions as who the local pastor would be. Later, Mqhawe gave Dube the land on which Ohlange, the school that in time became justly famous as a path-breaking experiment in self-help, was founded (Figure 6).⁸⁹ Mqhawe also willingly sent several of his children to school (as already noted, he sent his heir Mandlakayise abroad; he spent some time at the Slater Industrial Academy) and heartily approved of schools being built on the reserve.⁹⁰

Such cordial relations meant he could call upon the assistance of converts and missionaries alike. Lindley, Mary Edwards, the head of Inanda Seminary (the high school for African girls founded at Inanda in 1869) and Nokutela Mdimba, later John Dube’s wife, all willingly performed services for him, such as securing ploughs and horses and writing letters to government.⁹¹ In this way, he incorporated them as chiefly functionaries; Lindley and Edwards were among the earliest Qadi *omhlophe*, ‘white Qadi’. Mqhawe’s successors in the twentieth century continued to enjoy close relations within the Christian community at Inanda, several of whose members were prominent in national public life.⁹²

Mqhawe nominated and then enlisted the support of other Qadi *omhlophe*, too. Foremost among them were two prominent landowners and politicians, Marshall Campbell and George Shearer Armstrong. Campbell had arrived from Scotland as a young child in the 1850s. In the 1870s, he followed his father into sugar cultivation and

87 NAB, SNA 1/1/29–872/1877, ‘Colenso to Colonial Secretary, 18 January 1876’; PAR, Colenso Papers, Volume 29 (Letters July–December 1893), A204, ‘Hathorn Mason and Churchill to H.E. Colenso, 8 September 1893’.

88 NAB, Natal Chief Native Commissioner Papers, Box 127–22/154, ‘Deed of Transfer’.

89 Hughes, *First President*, pp. 89–97.

90 KCAL, American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions Microfilm Record on Southern Africa (ABFM), Reel 177, Lindley, ‘Tabular View, 1864’; NAB, SNA 1/1/33–112/1879, ‘Edwards to Secretary for Native Affairs, 18 January 1879’.

91 See, for example, NAB, SNA 1/1/91–597/1886, ‘Edwards to Secretary for Native Affairs, 6 August 1886’; SNA 1/1/123–322/1890, ‘Mdimba to Secretary for Native Affairs, 3 March 1890’. On Inanda Seminary, see M. Healy-Clancy, *A World of Their Own: A History of South African Women’s Education*, Pietermaritzburg: University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, 2013.

92 Cele, ‘Eposini Elidlala’.

emerged as one of the most influential figures in the industry as head of the vast Natal Estates, headquartered at Mount Edgecombe in the Inanda district. In 1893 he became a member of the Natal Legislative Assembly, served as one of the two Natal representatives on the South African Native Affairs Commission (1903–5) and later became a senator in the new Union parliament.⁹³

Campbell may have begun to take an interest in the affairs of the Qadi chiefdom because of Mqhawe's already established reputation not only as the most senior chief in the district, but also one who had close associations with both missionaries and converts. Whether cause or effect of Campbell's interest, this was probably also why Qadi men entering the labour market from the 1880s were able to corner the niche category of nightwatchman.⁹⁴ This was a not insignificant position on sugar estates, whose owners were ever anxious about the threat of incendiarism. So prevalent were Qadi as watchmen that they are an example of the ethnic job categorisation in the early 1900s that Paul La Hausse identified in Durban and Guy and Motlatsi Thabane described on the gold mines.⁹⁵ Qadi workers thus entered the labour market under relatively favourable conditions, being close to home and slotting into a responsible echelon of employment, something that may well also have been related to levels of schooling among them.

Campbell was accorded the honour of being formally installed as tribal counsellor and thereby became the most senior of the *amaQadi omhlophe*. He advised both the chief and John Dube at Ohlange and sat alongside Mqhawe on Ohlange's board of trustees from its inception in 1901. He assisted both men financially, too: he regularly gave to Ohlange and cleared the quit-rent owing on Incwadi in 1909.⁹⁶ Whenever he received visiting politicians and other dignitaries, he did his best to take them around Ohlange and Mqhawe's homestead. This was also one of the few chiefly homesteads to be visited by the American Board's 1903 fact-finding mission to southern Africa.⁹⁷

When various white occasions required spectacle, it was the Qadi whom Campbell called upon to provide it, a tradition that can be traced back to the 1860s, when Qadi regiments in their feathered finery had danced at the wedding of Ellen Blaine, daughter of the Verulam magistrate, to John Robinson, later Natal's first premier.⁹⁸ It was Campbell, too, who organised what was probably their most memorable performance in 1905 for a visiting delegation of the British Association for the Advancement of Science,⁹⁹ led by George Darwin, son of Charles Darwin, at Mount Edgecombe (Figure 9):

93 KAL, KCM 32848, Marshall Campbell Papers (MCP), Ellen Campbell, 'Biographical Sketch'.

94 NAB, VMR, 1/VLM 8/2, 'Master-Servant Register, 1858–1890'.

95 P. la Hausse, 'The Cows of Nongoloza: Youth, Crime and *Amalaita* Gangs in Durban, 1900–1936', *Journal of Southern African Studies* 16(1), 1990: 79–111; J. Guy and M. Thabane, 'Technology, Ethnicity and Ideology: Basotho Miners and Shaft-Sinking on the South African Gold Mines', *Journal of Southern African Studies* 14(2), 1988: 257–78.

96 KAL, KCM 32631, MCP, 'Tatham Wilkes and Shaw to Campbell, 26 September 1909'.

97 American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, *Report of the Deputation Sent by the American Board to its Mission in South Eastern Africa in 1903*, Boston: American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, 1904, pp. 10–11.

98 KAL, KCM 25650, Armstrong Papers (AP), George Shearer Armstrong, 'Reminiscences'.

99 See the essay by Carolyn Hamilton and Nessa Leibhammer in this volume.

The native dance, which was performed by between 200 and 300 Zulus, men and women . . . commenced at midday. It was a most entertaining spectacle, the men engaging in their national dance and war songs with much spirit, and evidently exerting themselves to the utmost to impress the spectators with their agility and powers of endurance . . . the visitors were much struck with the physique of the performers, and numerous inquiries were made as to their customs, their methods of living and their government.¹⁰⁰

One of Mqhawe's *izinduna*, probably Nkisimana, delivered a special message to Darwin, 'his demeanour of combined respect and eagerness considerably impressing those who stood by'. Mqhawe's cousin John Dube also played a prominent part at this event, making 'a most interesting and entertaining speech'.¹⁰¹ We might borrow a colonial term, 'combination' (the uniting of chiefly and Christian interests, which officials regarded as a threat to white settler interests and something to be avoided at all costs), to describe the self-awareness that the Qadi leaders had clearly acquired of the potential of such an alliance in pursuit of their various interests. 'Combination' would be displayed repeatedly through the twentieth century, a notable moment being the installation of Chief Mzonjani Ngcobo in 1957.

On Campbell's death in 1917, the position of tribal counsellor passed to his son William. William's sister, Killie, became a passionate collector of documents as well as cultural artefacts; she was in regular contact with most of the African leaders of the time, including John Dube, and her efforts ensured that some at least of the more personal recollections of the Qadi have survived in her vast assemblage of records from all over the region. A letter to *Ilanga lase Natal* captures something of the aura that Killie Campbell had acquired among educated Africans:

Miss Campbell has one of the finest – perhaps the finest – private libraries of Africana. Unlike some collectors, Miss Campbell's effort is a work of love. She takes a living practical interest in her work and is never so happy as when she helps visitors and scholars in her library. The library is a paradise for all lovers of culture and literature.¹⁰²

Armstrong's connections with Mqhawe were far briefer, although while still a boy on the Rockback sugar estate near Verulam in the 1860s, he remembered Mqhawe coming to visit his father William, 'with about ten or twelve mounted followers; he always had a good mount and looked well on horseback'.¹⁰³ Armstrong had left for the diamond fields in the 1870s, returning to Natal only in 1903. He quickly established close relations with Mqhawe, who by this time was very elderly and in poor health. When the chief instructed the Qadi not to pay the new poll tax in 1906, Armstrong took the unprecedented action of summoning the Under-Secretary for Native Affairs from Pietermaritzburg to

100 *Natal Mercury*, 24 August 1905. This account of the performance is supportive of the editors' argument that much that had come to be identified as 'Zulu' culture (that is, from 'deep Zululand') was in fact gathered and witnessed at locations close to Durban.

101 *Natal Mercury*, 24 August 1905.

102 *Ilanga lase Natal*, 5 February 1944.

103 KCAL, KCM, AP, Armstrong, 'Reminiscences'.

his estate for a meeting with Mqhawe.¹⁰⁴ John Dube was also at this meeting, probably having helped to arrange it, at which Mqhawe finally agreed to relent. When the chief died in November 1906, Armstrong donated an impressive coffin for the funeral. He, like Campbell, supported Ohlange and made repeated claims that it should be eligible for a government grant.

The Qadi ruling group clearly cultivated strategic relationships such as these throughout the colonial period, with the aim of securing the integrity of the chiefdom. In so doing, this group drew on both long-standing and more recently created categories of knowledge and understanding. Madikane Cele's life possibly expresses the work that went into creating this web of relationships most eloquently.¹⁰⁵ Madikane was born in the late 1820s on the banks of the Nsuze River, where the Qadi were then settled. He believed his ancestral origins to have been in the Cele chiefdom, which he said had sprung from the Mthethwa paramountcy, but at some stage his people had been incorporated into the Ngcobo paramountcy. His father, Mlomowetole kaBobo kaNdhlulisa kaMpinda, had seen active service for Shaka in the Ntontela regiment. Had the Qadi remained in the Thukela Valley, he would have been drafted into the same regiment as Cetshwayo, the Tulwana. Instead, as a herdboys, he crossed into Natal in the late 1830s with those fleeing from Dingane.

Madikane became Mqhawe's closest adviser.¹⁰⁶ Among other duties, he arranged many of Mqhawe's 32 marriages, including that of his principal wife, Nthozethu, a daughter of the Chunu chief Phakade. He himself married three wives. Then, sometime in the 1870s, he began attending classes at one of the Inanda Mission's day schools, not far from his home on the reserve and travelled to Amanzimtoti to continue his education at Adams' mission. From there, he sent a letter to James Dube, then pastor at Inanda, requesting him to obtain Mqhawe's permission to cut off his headring. He then 'freed himself from the entanglements of polygamy' and converted to Christianity, though significantly did not assume a new, Christian name.¹⁰⁷

In the late 1880s, Madikane established an outstation of the Inanda Mission at Amatata, in the vicinity of the Khumalo chief, Bhulutshe, who was married to Mqhawe's first-born daughter, Nomasonto.¹⁰⁸ By 1890, he had a small number of children in the school he had built and 'a fine house in the course of building'.¹⁰⁹ Whenever the magistrate or other colonial officials visited that part of the Inanda location, they put up at Madikane's house and sometimes used his horses.¹¹⁰

104 NAB, SNA 1/1/336–568/1906, 'USNA Report, 9 March 1906'.

105 Madikane provided much of the source material on his life himself (see his testimony to James Stuart) and there are several corroborative documents in the SNA minute papers. In addition, Robert Plant, an inspector of Native Education who had occasion to travel extensively in Natal, stayed with Madikane and included him as one of his case studies in *The Zulu in Three Tenses: Being a Forecast of the Zulu's Future in the Light of His Past and Present*, Pietermaritzburg: P. Davis, 1905.

106 Plant, *Zulu in Three Tenses*, p. 86.

107 KCAL, ABFM, Reel 181, 'Report on Adams Seminary 1878'.

108 Frank G. Msomi interviewed by Heather Hughes, Amatata, 7 October 1988.

109 NAB, SNA 1/1/125–632/1890, 'Faile's Diary, 24 May 1890'.

110 NAB, SNA 1/1/113–258/1889.

He and the one wife who stayed with him, Sivono, had four children. Two sons who had been born to his former wives, Qandeyana and Mabhelubhelu, came to live with him when their mothers died in the 1890s. Both studied in the United States: Mabhelubhelu, who accompanied Mandlakayise, never returned to South Africa, while Qandeyana married an African-American classmate from Slater Academy, Julia Smith. They returned to Amatata, where Qandeyana took over his father's pastoral duties.¹¹¹

In various ways, Madikane maintained close associations with both Mqhawe and Dube. He deputised for Mqhawe at several meetings both with the magistrate – about conditions in the reserve, fencing and so on – and the missionaries. He and Mqhawe together served on the first board of trustees of Ohlange. After Mqhawe's death, it was none other than Madikane who, momentarily returning to the role he had played earlier in his life, arranged the *amahlambo* (or cleansing) ceremonies at Mqhawe's homestead.¹¹² Madikane himself died in 1910; according to his wishes, he was buried outside the church he had built at Amatata.

It was Madikane who gave Stuart important evidence about the Lala: Shaka 'used to insult us and frighten us by saying that we did not have the cunning to invent things out of nothing, like lawyers. He said that we Lala could not do it.'¹¹³ It may well be the case that whatever its ideological meaning had been under Shaka, Lala came to take on more positive connotations for its bearers, who were able to re-establish a degree of autonomy in early colonial Natal. It may even have become a term by which those seeking protection from the colonial government referred to themselves. As Madikane put it: 'In the time of Mpande we in Natal had good fortune. The English came, and times were easy, and there was happiness.'¹¹⁴ Bishop Colenso's dictionary entry for Lala, 'Common name for a person belonging to many tribes which were driven south of the Tugela by Tshaka, whose dialect is very harsh', would support such an interpretation.¹¹⁵ Again, Joseph Kirkman described the broken remnants of the fighting force marching out of Port Natal against Dingane in 1838 as 'Amalala' and the missionary Joseph Shooter could write with approval in 1857 of the way in which the 'Amalala seem to treat their wives', in contrast to the cruel treatment meted out by (steadfastly anti-Christian) Zulu men to their spouses.¹¹⁶ Yet by 1905, when he gave his interview to Stuart, Madikane was filled with foreboding: 'What is now clear is that we shall be done harm, we shall die, we

111 See R.T. Vinson and R. Edgar, 'Zulus Abroad: Cultural Representations and Educational Experiences of Zulus in America, 1880–1945', *Journal of Southern African Studies* 33(1), 2007: 43–62 for a fuller account of the Celes in America. On Julia Smith, we are grateful for email communication from Richard Woodward, Virginia Museum, December 2013.

112 NAB, SNA 1/1/356–3905/1906; *Ilanga lase Natal*, 23 November 1906.

113 Webb and Wright, *James Stuart Archive*, Volume 2, p. 55, evidence of Madikane Cele.

114 Webb and Wright, *James Stuart Archive*, Volume 2, p. 54, evidence of Madikane Cele.

115 J.W. Colenso, *Zulu-English Dictionary*, Pietermaritzburg: P. Davis, 1861, p. 262.

116 Joseph Kirkman is cited in F. Owen, *The Diary of the Reverend Francis Owen MA*, edited by G. Cory, Cape Town: Van Riebeeck Society, 1926, pp. 166–7; J. Shooter, *The Kafirs of Natal and the Zulu Country*, New York: Negro Universities Press, 1969, p. 82. See also the new insights in Wright, 'A.T. Bryant and the "Lala"'.

shall be done harm by the Government.’¹¹⁷ This was precisely the time that his chief was instructing the Qadi not to pay the poll tax.

Probably after 1910, although it is impossible to give a definite date, a photograph began circulating that quite clearly shows the Qadi leadership’s grasp of the potential of this powerful new medium. It is a collage, a photograph compiled of other photographs, showing an elderly Chief Mqhawe dressed in skins, flanked by two respectably suited figures, James Dube on the left and Madikane Cele on the right (Figure 5). The only other known photographs of Mqhawe show him in Western clothing; this image, by contrast, is intended as a forceful visual symbol of ‘combination’, identifying those considered by the Qadi ruling group to be its most important proponents. Much has been written about othering through the camera lens, but this is a portrayal of selves, an insider bid to assert a particular view.¹¹⁸ It is not known precisely who made the image, but it has, over the decades, been widely displayed in the Mzinyathi Valley, in the home of the chief, in government offices and in Mqhawe High School and has long been in the possession of leading families. It has been read by those in Emaqadini as a fitting commemoration, projecting a sense of proud achievement through all the years of early white domination. Yet it has simultaneously served as a prospectus, indicating a determination to continue defending the interests of the Qadi, those ‘of the white men’s country’.

What, then, constitutes the archive? We have argued that it is not one ‘thing’; rather, as is the case in virtually all historical inquiry, traces are to be found in a variety of forms and in a range of physical collections: state repositories, personal papers, missionary records, oral testimony, ‘black’ and ‘white’ newspapers, printed text, photographs, speeches. To a greater or lesser extent, in them all, Qadi leaders can be seen actively, tirelessly, campaigning for the most advantageous place possible in the colonial order, redoubling efforts when faced with particularly severe threats. The evidence, fragmentary and provisional though it is, strongly suggests that members of the Qadi ruling group were able to secure both the material circumstances and a series of favourable alliances that permitted them to emerge, despite everything, in a stronger position than most by 1910. In addition to deriving such a conclusion from the archive-as-source, we have hopefully shown that extant narratives and traces of Qadi history are themselves many-layered, containing their own historiography.¹¹⁹

117 Webb and Wright, *James Stuart Archive*, Volume 2, pp. 53–4, evidence of Madikane Cele.

118 See, for example, contributions to *Images and Empires: Visuality in Colonial and Postcolonial Africa*, edited by P.S. Landau and D.D. Kaspin, Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002.

119 A point made eloquently in L. Witz and C. Rassool, ‘Making Histories’, *Kronos* 34(1), 2008: 6–15.